I: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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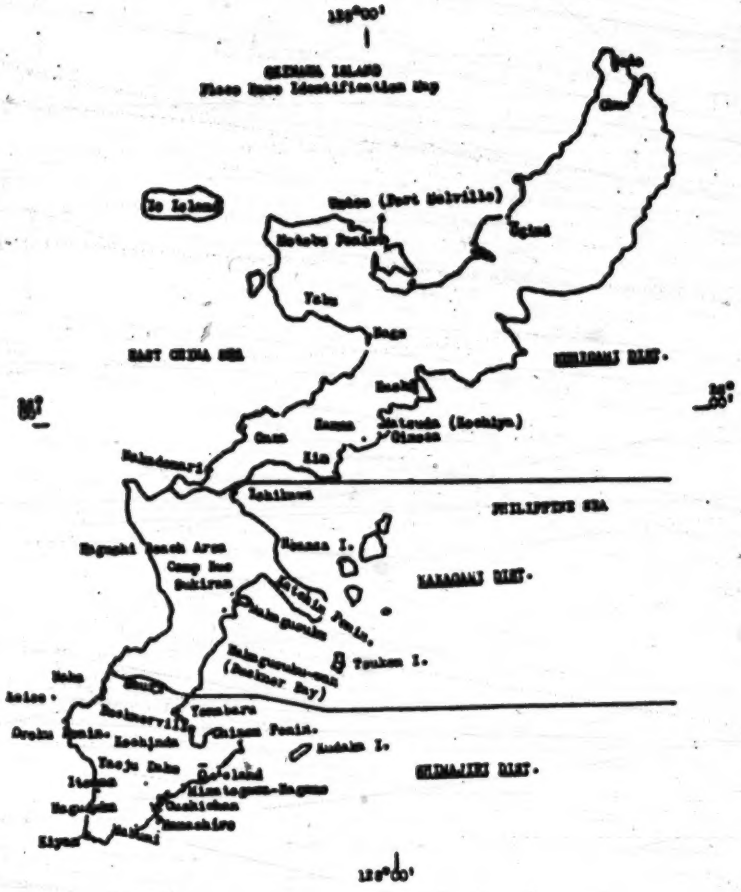
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OKINAWA ISLAND
Place Name Identification Map
Ie Island
Motobu Peninsula
Yoka
Hedo
Sesoko
EAST CHINA SEA
Ishikawa
Kin
Chatan
Yomitan
Kadena
Yontan
Zampa
Misaki
Sobe
Hamahira
Nakagusuku
Gusukuma
Tsuken I.
Nakagusuku-wan
(Buckner Bay)
Naha
Tomigusuku
Itoman
Mabuni
Hill
Gushikawa
Kunigami
Nago
Motobu
Ishikawa
Hedo
Cape
Sesoko
Yagaji
Ie Island
Motobu (Port Melville)
Motobu Peninsula
Yoka
Hedo
Sesoko
EAST CHINA SEA
KUNIGAMI DIST.
Ishikawa
Kin
Chatan
Yomitan
Kadena
Yontan
Zampa
Misaki
Sobe
Hamahira
Nakadomari
Ishikawa
PHILIPPINE SEA
Higushi Beach Area
Camp Hue
Sobiran
Hanza I.
NAHAGUN DIST.
Gushikawa Penin.

114 121 184 much as possible the customary ways of doing things, and though one could not hope for an unchanging or an isolated village, one could find a village relatively so, even if, as was the case with all the villages, they had felt the effects of the deadly campaign for Okinawa.

On one of these trips, I talked with the headman of the village of Hanashiro and then with the officials in the nearby village office of Gushichan, and concluded on the basis of what I saw of the agriculture and the conditions described by these officials, that this small village would be a satisfactory selection. In the beginning, an epidemic of encephalitis made it wise to be away from the village at night and for [164] the first month the investigations were confined to daytime work. This was a serious handicap which I tried to overcome later in the tour by living in the village.

While working in Hanashiro, I had frequent occasion to pass the villages of Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku, and I was impressed with the opportunity to study the life of a village in which agriculture [226] did not predominate, and in which the chief emphasis was on fishing and [324] stonecutting. I therefore decided to include the fishing village, and took up residence there late in August 1951, making frequent trips on the side to Hanashiro.

As interest and awareness increased, I became convinced that another type of village should be added to the agricultural and fishing selections. It should be one in the northern forested area (the Kunigami region). [361] After discussing this with American and Okinawan forestry officials, I followed their suggestion and lived in the village of Matsuda in Ginoza township. It proved to be a good choice, with the possible reservation that Matsuda is somewhat of a model village whose conditions might be better than the average.

The villages needed to be small enough for one man to study. And they proved to be admirable communities for realizing my original intention of showing similarities and contrasts in an agricultural village, a fishing village, and a village in a forest setting.

121 The results do not constitute a complete ethnography of each of the villages. Such was not my intention, and this could not have been done in the time available. The material has been organized around four central [128] subjects: (1) the nature of the family system and its influence through inheritance on land tenure and land use, (2) ways of life as illustrated in the studies of the agricultural, fishing-stonecutting, and forest communities, (3) daily family life as a concrete expression of the family system, and (4) wider community relationships, including political and cooperative organizations, education, and religion.

The basic theme is that a fruitful approach to the study of modern cultures lies in the borderland area between the social and the natural sciences, and that, in the case of these Okinawan villages, the study [311] would take the form of discovering in what ways the people are using their natural environment and the manner in which the culture has changed and

chain, Ie, Ihoya, and Kudaka islands. The main island is about sixty miles long, its length running generally northeast to southwest. It has an irregular coast line, peninsulas which jut out into the sea, and two isthmuses, one near present Camp Kue, the other farther north at Ishikawa. The width of the island varies from two to eighteen miles. 133 131

Okinawa may be divided into three geographical regions, which also roughly correspond to the ancient division of the island into a northern district (Kunigami or Yambaru), a central district (Nakagami), and a southern district (Shimajiri). [631]

The northern district takes up about two-thirds of the area of the island. It begins at the northern isthmus which runs from Ishikawa town on the Pacific side to Nakadomari on the East China Sea side. South of this line, the island runs more or less in a north-south direction; north of the line, the island is situated in a pronounced northeast-southwest direction. Certain features distinguish this northern area from the two southern parts of Okinawa. A mountain ridge, almost entirely forested, runs down the center. Drainage from the short streams which rise in the mountains is down the east and west slopes. Villages and towns are on or near the coastal flatlands or on the coastal rolling hills. There are few settlements in the interior of the northern part of the island. 131 631 133 [137] [361]

The central region of the island extends south from the Ishikawa-Nakadomari isthmus to the Naha-Yonabaru line. A corridor beginning on the eastern side at Yonabaru on Buckner Bay (formerly Nakagusuku-wan) connects with a long valley beginning around Naha. This provides a natural route cutting across the southern part of the island. The central region is the area of oldest settlement. It and the region to the south were the areas of the most intensive warfare during the campaign for Okinawa. The central region has a patternless physiography. Low rolling eroded hills, stony hills with sharp relief, dissected uplands and escarpments alternate with small alluvial valleys and flatlands. On these and on the lower slopes of the less stony hills cultivation takes place. Limestone sinks and caverns are commonplace. The most rugged terrain in this area is the region around Shuri and its northern approaches, the scene of the most prolonged fighting of the war in Okinawa. Unlike the north, settlements are scattered throughout the countryside, usually on the low lands at the base of hills, along the coasts, or in narrow winding valleys with low passes leading from one to the other. [487] [361]

The third region of the island extends from the Naha-Yonabaru line to the southern tip of the island. It is like the central part in the haphazard distribution of its land forms but somewhat flatter. Part of it is a limestone plain. The highest elevations are around the hills and mountains along Buckner Bay, with its narrow flat coastal strips, and along the southern portion of the Chinen peninsula, which also has flat beaches and beach ridges. It is an area of small plains, long, narrow but steep limestone mountains, and of rolling hills, escarpments which often abruptly end on the water's edge. In the area of one of these escarpments, Yaeju Dake, the final battle scenes of the war took place. The settlement

pattern is similar to that of the central part. Villages are scattered throughout the area with population distribution comparable with the central area. Before the war, the densities here were over one thousand per square mile, actually considerably more if the uninhabitable lands are subtracted.[4]

How long this settlement pattern and these regional differences have existed is difficult to say. In studying contemporary environments, like Okinawa, which bear the imprint of long human settlement, it is useful to try to reconstruct the nature of the landscape before the interference of man. At one time, the whole island, with the exception of stony, rocky, and shallow soils and beach and marsh land was covered with forest. There are now no virgin stands. "It is evident that the present forest has been cut over many times. There seems to be no part of the island in which the forest cover has not been disturbed in some way by man."[5] In this light, the regional differences between the forested north and the deforested south are the work of man.

The oldest settlements are thought to have been in the Naha and Shuri areas. Kudaka Island, off the southeast coast, according to one legend, was the site of the supernatural creation of the Okinawan people. The town of Unten, the Port Melville of Captain Hall and Commodore Perry, was, in one version, the scene of the landing of the Japanese warrior, Tametomo, but this was in the twelfth century. Northern areas were inhabited prior to the unification of the island in the twelfth century because they had their own regional chieftans before this. But the population of the north, at least up to the war, has been sparse and scattered. If the forests are any indication, it has been the central and southern regions which have been the scenes of longest settlement. Probably the settlement pattern had not changed much until the Japanese interventions of the nineteenth century and the great changes coming with the recent war, and with the extensive modifications which the Americans have made in the landscape of the central region.

3

General Climatic Conditions

In the Koppen system, Okinawa has a humid subtropical climate. It is a rainy climate with no marked dry season; it has a mild winter and the temperature of the warmest month is over 71.6°F. The average annual temperatures in Naha range from 61° for January and February to 82°F for July and August, and the range from the mean minimum of 55° in February to the

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 14--ANALYST]

4 See the population distribution maps in CA Handbook, Ryukyu (Loo-choo Islands, 48-49.

5 Okinawan Forests. (Prepared by the USGS, Military Geology Section under the direction of Office of the Engineer, GHQ, Far East Command), 1948, 2.

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1

Introduction

In contemporary Okinawa, there are four distinct types of village settlement. The first and the most common is the village cluster. Houses are grouped in a central area, usually along or on both sides of a road, surrounded by farm lands and rice fields. The second, the shoe-string type, is less common. Here houses are lined along either side of a main street. The third is a here-and-there type of settlement. This has been called a yadori (Japanese) or yadui (Okinawan) village, translated as plantation, but this is too exalted a word.[1] These villages may have sub-settlements. Houses are scattered among intervening plots of cultivated land. In the fourth category are the modern improvisations: land formerly in forest, grass or shrub which has been reclaimed and used for houses and nearby cultivation, or former agricultural land now taken up for house sites, a result of increased population or of war time destruction of other parts of a village.

The basic type of Okinawan village is the cluster, a village small in area whose houses, close together, and on irregular winding lanes, are separated from one another by stone or rock walls, or by boundaries of trees or shrubs. The front part of the house compound usually is cut off from the road by a stone fence, running part way across, with the opening to the road obstructed by a stationary barrier, sometimes of stones, often of woven grasses.

In the village of a bygone age, there were large open spaces like a common on the outskirts "often appearing as glades in the forest." In this area, rice was laid out to dry, horse racing and other sports took place, the village council met, goods were bartered, justice administered, and festivals celebrated.[2] When approached from a distance, the older villages seemed literally buried in foliage. In the last century the larger villages still had rest huts (cung-qua) for travellers, usually government officials to use from one overnight stop to another. The older village also had a series of small buildings on stilts three to six feet long. These were granaries and food storehouses. Some houses were also on stilts. Older accounts have stressed the concealment of the Okinawan village, its houses separated from one another, its lanes lined or embowered with bamboo, with banana trees, or with arbors. To

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 48--Analyst]

1 Higa, Shunchō. Structure of the Ryukyuan rural community. The Japanese journal of ethnology, 15 (1950), 63-66. In Japanese with English summary, 151.

2 The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 457. See also Basil Hall, Account of a voyage of discovery to the west coast of Corea and the Great Loo-Choo island, 123, 124.

361 Perry's men, the aspect of these villages was one of rare and romantic
175 beauty.[3]

2

Hanashiro

361 Hanashiro is a small village of the cluster type in Gushichan
103 township (Gushichan-son) in the southeastern part of Okinawa.[4] It is on
[491] the present Highway 64 which begins on the Chinen peninsula, travels southwesterly, following the coast at a distance to Mabuni in the southeast, then crossing the island to Nagushiku town, a village south of Itoman.

361 The village and its surroundings are small in area, the actual town
241 site including various village owned properties, taking up slightly over
443 22 acres. This is an agricultural village, with the exception of minor
256 activities such as storekeeping and rice milling. As of December 31, 1951,
162 it had a population of 589 (269 male, 320 female), living together in 120 households, an average of 4.9 persons per household.

361 The village is believed to have been founded about 400 years ago.
[103] By Okinawan standards this is not very old. It is off the main historical
[491] road which ran from Naha to Shuri to Kochinda, Gushichan, Minatogawa, through Tamagusuku township to the Chinen peninsula, probably the road travelled by Okinawan kings up to the latter part of the seventeenth century when they prayed at the altars on Kudaka Island.[5] There were in this area a series of castles on the tops of hills commanding the road and its approaches, the castles, the rough determinants of various regions
175 formerly under a regional nobility. To the west there was Kochinda castle,
349 Tamagusuku on the east, Gushichan castle near Hanashiro, where a sur-
631 viving stone fence can still be seen, and the castle site of Itokazu. There is reason for believing, as we mentioned in Chapter 1, that this is in the general area of oldest settlement in the island.

[Text continues on P. 49--analyst]

3 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, Vol. I, 163, 164, 179-80, and an illustration of a "cung-qua" on p. 180. On the older village with granaries and storehouses, see Green's remarks in Hawks, Perry's expedition, as cited, Vol. II, 34, 36, and illustration in Vol. I, 178.

[103] 4 The village is also known as Hanagusuku: the meaning is the same, as
[192] shiro is the Japanese, gusuku the Okinawan word for castle. Many Okinawan place names have the suffix, --gusuku.

5 Spencer, The Noro, or priestesses of Loo Choo, as cited, 107.

The village is one of a series of settlements in a long narrow valley, on a limestone plain, bordered on the east by a steep ridge, up to 300 feet in elevation and running in a northwest and southeast direction, which divides the valley from the sea. On these cliff like formations, large outcrops are covered with shrubs and miscanthus grass. Lanes and roads lead from the valley floor to the summits of these hills, where villagers collect their firewood and grass for roof thatch. On the rocky, steep slopes of this seaward ridge, above the line of cultivation, is the tomb area. Precipitous and stony hills prevent cultivation, but occasionally a sharp tongue of land reaches far up the slope, its end protected from the rains and wash by a short stone fence.

Between Oushichan and Hanashiro village, there is a bridge over a small stream, its upstream course obscured by its dispersion in the rice fields. The dirt road, gradually ascending, cuts through the main rice growing area of the village, on a gentle slope, reflected in the bench cultivation of the rice fields. Here and there are large rocks and stony outcrops, with an occasional scrub pine, cycad, or a covering of miscanthus. Cultivation goes around these large stones.

The road, about one-fourth of a mile from the bridge, soon leads into what looks like, from a distance, a densely wooded area. This is the settlement.

With the exception of the rough stony land of the limestone mountains and steep slopes, the soils of the area are the Okinawa clay loams and the Chinen stony clays lying on the limestone plains. The farm and village area takes up approximately 427 acres, of which 257 are in gently sloping Okinawa clay loams, a deep, well drained, neutral to slightly acid and very fertile soil. Another five acres is of the same type but these are in slopes, of a gradient ranging from 8-15%. There are 80 acres in gently sloping Shuri clays, shallow, moderately fertile, an olive colored, crumbly, calcareous clay; another 35 acres in the Awase clays, deep fertile, crumbly, calcareous clay of olive-gray color, and 14 acres of rough stony land.

The hillsides and the summits are free of densely growing trees and shrubs, and the lowlands are given over to cultivation. There are no groves of trees to protect the crops from typhoons. The trees and the protection they give are confined to the village. This is typical of many villages of southern Okinawa, where the hills and mountains have few trees, and dense growths are associated with habitation.

Inside the village, winding lanes branch off the main dirt road. The older houses are on the north side of the road. On the opposite side, the houses, newer or rebuilt since the war, adjoin the cultivated area. In the older section, the dense shrubbery, the tree lined lanes, broken occasionally by stone fences, wind through the village with footpaths branching off, sometimes past an open field, a reminder of a failure to rebuild after the war. On the northern outskirts is the village office, its gong in the yard, the open field, a playground for the children.

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351 The village is a group of houses, each with its own compound, and these give it an inclosed look. There are few if any gardens or vegetable patches either in the compounds or within the village settlement.

363 The lanes resemble quiet winding country roads. The rock fences, or the lines of trees or shrubbery often conceal the houses. There is an appearance of loneliness in these lanes and roads, except at busy times of the day when the children return from school. The lack of commercial [487] activity, except for the women carrying rice on their heads to the mill [462] and for the small village stores, contributes to this impression of quiet, which one would expect from the routine of agriculture. At night, when [354] the doors are drawn, and when the flickering and smoky oil lamps are lit, the loneliness and quiet of the village is even more pronounced. The [493] lanes and the roads are deserted, save for an occasional passing truck, [192] bicycle, or three wheeled cycle, and in one of the favorite words of all Okinawans, the place is sabishii.[6]

366 Since there is little activity in the village other than farming,
368 neighboring villages and distant towns supply the additional needs. At nearby Gushichan village, there are the primary and junior high schools, the post office, the township and agricultural association offices, a barbershop, and some small stores. At Minatogawa, about one and one half miles away, there is a public bath, and across the river from this village, in Horikawa, an occasional play from the Okinawan stage, or a movie. Buses run through the village twice a day and one can make connections to Naha or Itoman, the two most likely places for buying [494] or selling. Or one can take the three wheeled cycles which pass through more frequently.

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362 Physically, the village was much affected by the war. On June 11, 1945, the front line ran through the cultivated area between Hanashiro and Gushichan villages. Hill 95, the scene of fierce fighting was in the vicinity of Hanashiro.[7] One can still see an occasional tank track, abandoned helmets and scattered fragments of war materials in the fields. The village was affected by the war in ways which are now observable [355] indirectly in the makeshift houses, improvised shacks, the roofs of half tile and half thatch, the odd additions to the older buildings partly destroyed, and the lack of drain pipes and water catchment tanks. Houses, which to superficial appearance, have existed for generations, have been rebuilt since the war with grass substituting for the tile roofs. [311] War operations over the cultivated areas also resulted in some loss of land. A long mound in the rice areas, with paths along its ridge, was formerly a road built by the Americans in the final drive toward Mabuni. Almost all the houses in the village were destroyed.

6 This Japanese word suggests both loneliness and melancholy.

7 Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 437 (illustration), 434-42 on the struggle for Hill 95.

Since the war, the old narrow one lane roads have been broadened, permitting heavier auto traffic. Land ownership has been undisturbed, for it is not in an area in which the military has required land. Since the war, the villagers have tried to return to their former way of life, but this has been done with poorer houses and fewer possessions.

3

Minatogawa

Minatogawa, the second village studied, formerly was a shoe string type of settlement. Houses, shops, drinking places were along the seawall road. This pattern is now altered as a result of the war. Scattered areas have been relocated and houses built on lands formerly used for sweet potatoes. It is now an indeterminate type of village, retaining some indications of its old settlement pattern along the main road, with additions of clusters of houses in the newly settled areas.

Like Hanashiro, this village is in Gushichan township, and located on Highway 64. It is directly on the main historical road, previously mentioned, which led from Naha to the Chinen peninsula. The road, along which its houses are built, parallels for a distance the estuary of the small Minatogawa river. This narrow estuary, called Usaregawa, which connects the river mouth with the Pacific Ocean, and the small river itself (Yuhigawa) is a boundary between Gushichan and Tamagusuku townships. On either side there are steep cliffs, the sites of the best known stone quarries of Okinawa.

The settlement and the adjoining lands have an area of about 256 acres. It is a mixed economy village with three distinct occupational groups: fishermen, stonecutters, and farmers. There is a second village whose borders blend with those of Minatogawa. These two villages are now known officially as Minatogawa-ichi and Minatogawa-ni. The two terms can be awkwardly translated as Minatogawa first ward, and Minatogawa second ward. But popularly they retain their older names: Minatogawa for the fishing village, and Nagamo for the agricultural second ward. These two separate but adjoining villages were until 1925 a single village.

The division was the result of distinct differences in outlook and occupation between the two sections. Minatogawa is a fishing village and has strong ties with Itoman, a town on the East China Sea shore about 4 1/2 miles away. Nagamo is an agricultural community originally settled from Naha and Shuri. Stone-cutting operations spread over both areas. While the fishing village of Minatogawa was given the emphasis in this study, it will be necessary occasionally to include Nagamo in the discussion.[8]

8 The writer did not realize until he lived here that two villages were involved, thinking that the two wards referred to a single administrative unit. By this time the work on Hanashiro had been well started, and time did not permit the intensive study of Nagamo.

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Treeless Minatogawa. This is the business district of the village. The buildings are small village shops. The building in the upper left is the village inn. The road winding toward the right is Highway 64 leading to Gushichan. Minatogawa stone is visible on the back of the store on the right of the picture. The low stone hedges in the foreground are typical of Minatogawa.

[P. 51(B)]

The people of Nagamo are farmers. The seat of their extended families is in Naha and Shuri, and they have their own local deity places (ujigami in Japanese). The people of Minatogawa are fishermen, their extended family seats are in Itoman. They too have their local deities and many of their religious ceremonies are centered around the gods of the sea and the dragon of the sea god's palace.

The population of Minatogawa, as of December 31, 1951, was 1108 (515 males, 593 females) in 213 households, an average of 5.2 persons per household, and of adjoining Nagamo, 564 persons (262 males, 302 females) with 113 households, an average of 5.0 persons per household.

The fishing village of Minatogawa is believed to be about 250 years old. It was founded, according to local residents, by the fishermen of Itoman who were accustomed to fish off shore near the islands around the southeastern and southwestern parts of Okinawa. The place was first established as a temporary location for the fishing boats and later permanent settlement took place. The tombs of Itoman are still the ultimate burying ground for large numbers of the Minatogawa fishermen. After 250 years the ties with the parent town are still strong.

The village has two traditions involving contacts with other peoples. The first is concerned with the Chinese. One is a spot on the shore where some Chinese are said to have landed over 200 years ago. Many fishermen pray to it on certain occasions of the year. Little is known of what happened to the Chinese, but supposedly they were buried high up the side of a steep mountain nearby, inside a cave with stalactites. Bones said to be of these Chinese may still be seen there. The cave is difficult of access.

There is also the tradition of London sailors said to have been shipwrecked at the port of Kiyan on the southwest tip of Okinawa. A child was born of the union of one of these sailors with an Okinawan woman and the child later returned to England. The tomb of the woman and the child is revered as a religious site. It is now a small shrine on the outskirts of Itoman called Rondongama, Rondon for London.[9] Old women of Minatogawa sing a song of this old love called Michinakankai. The theme of the song is the unashamed love of the woman for her departed London lover, an Okinawan anticipation of Madame Butterfly.

In this area the low, bare hills form in a haphazard way a series of valleys, some long and narrow, others like an amphitheatre with an open face to the sea. Low passes connect the valleys. One such pass, about 150 feet high, now on Highway 64, leads from the valley of

[Text continues on top of P. 53--Analyst]

9 The writer visited both the cave and the site near Itoman town in August 1951. The shrine is now situated on a small hill on the outskirts of Itoman. The bones were moved here during the war from Haizato village to escape Japanese bombing. A large cave nearby, associated with the mother and the child, is overgrown and very dangerous to enter because of the danger of snakes.

133 Hanashiro and Oushichan villages to a broad semi-circular valley, the
361 Oushichan plain, with a gentle gradient sloping to the sea. Shortly before the coast is reached there is a sharper drop, and it is in this depression along the shore and the coastal strip that the fishing village lies.

134 The Okinawan clay loams and the Chinen stony clays are also the
133 predominating soils of the area. There are about 85 acres of the gently sloping clay loams, 155 acres of the gently sloping Chinen stony clays. While moderately fertile and well drained, these soils are also shallow and stony, with obvious defects for the pursuit of agriculture. There are 10 acres of deep, fertile poorly drained, slightly acid alluvial soils. These occur along the river and its estuary and in a small former river mouth to the south. There are about six acres in rough stony land.

731 The village has very little storm protection. There are no shelter
133 belts around it, nor are there many trees within. It is open to storms
417 and typhoons, and the water, lashed by the sea, is sufficient to break and scatter the large stones of the seawall. At present, inside the village there is none of the privacy typical of the agricultural villages and their compounds. There are few trees, shrubs, or fences. In the
361 older part of the village, the houses are closely set together. Fishing
351 nets hang on the lines of the yard. In season, the yard is covered with
227 drying fish, fish fins, and fish backs. The yards and the shore are dotted with men cleaning or repairing their boats.

362 The lack of natural beauty of the place is accentuated by the poor-
512 ness of the houses and the other buildings. Its atmosphere is unmistakably different. The village is more commercial and more lively than the quiet
484 and concealed agricultural village. Life is not so much of a routine, for much depends on the weather and the sea. The village has people who have travelled widely. Some of its fishermen have been in the waters of Java, of the South Seas, of the Andaman Islands, the Philippines, and Indo-China.

438 The village's main commercial contacts are with the remaining
[311] agricultural villages of the township from which it must obtain much of its food, for the area is not suited to agriculture, nor is much land available. For wider contacts, there are Itoman about 4 1/2 miles, and Naha about 8 1/2 miles away. Buses go through the village twice a day.
494 The three wheeled cycles are irregular but come and go more often. Fish
368 is sold at Naha. The theatre for the travelling troupe of actors from Naha and for movies is in Horikawa across the river. Many visits are
574 also made to Itoman to see relatives and friends.

727 The war was even more catastrophic for Minatogawa than for Hanashiro.
[361] Before the war, Minatogawa was a thriving, prosperous and well built up small town. About 70% of its buildings had a tile roof and 30% had thatch roofs. There were about 30 stores, sake shops and drinking places, including a geisha house, along the road, serving the fishermen and the stonecutters. Of the 430 buildings in the area, only three were left

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standing. At one time, the Hinatogawa beaches were seriously considered for the initial landings in Okinawa, and later as a possible second landing. After the campaign for the south had begun, Hinatogawa became a forward loading point.[10] The present village has been completely rebuilt, and the newer buildings, with few exceptions, are frail and undistinguished. The war shows its effects, too, on the southern part of the village where there is a barren acreage, formerly the site of an army camp, its top soil so shallow that the bulldozers in levelling it soon reached the rock beneath.

Nearby Nagano is a village of a different type. It is divided into two distinct quarters, also a result of the war. The old part formerly was to the north in the main stonecutting area, but following the destruction, a new settlement was started in the farm land a few hundred yards south. Cultivation is marginal on the shallow soil of the sloping valley before it descends into the flat coastal area in which the fishing village is located.

Hinatogawa, which means River Port, is a distinctive village reminiscent of the famous fishing town of Itoman, though without its size, beauty, or color.

4

Matsuda

Matsuda is a here-and-there type of village. The village area including the community owned forest is over a square mile. The countryside is dotted with several small sub-settlements. Within each sub-settlement, the houses also are scattered about and separated from one another by large trees, thick growths of shrubbery, grasses, stone fences, and cultivated fields.

The village is located in Ginoza township (Ginoza-son) on the northeast side of the island. This township is in the northern district (Kunigami, or Yambaru). The village is on Highway 13, which winds along the northeast coast through Ishikawa, Kin, Kanna, and Ginoza villages.

Though near the sea, a typical site of a northern Okinawan village, it is a settlement engaged in agriculture and forestry. Its name suggests its nature. Matsuda is a compound of the characters for pine tree, matsu, and rice field, ta, da. Though there is some fishing in the sub-settlements along the Pacific shore, it is casual and a part time occupation for farmers on the coast. The families exclusively

[Text continues TOP of P. 55--Analyst]

10 The statistics on village destruction are taken from accounts of the villagers. They are estimates. For operations in this area, see Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 68, 74, 426-27, 436, 439.

engaged in fishing are permanent or transient families originally from Itoman, a place name which comes up whenever fishing is mentioned anywhere in Okinawa. Agriculture and the care and utilization of the community forest make up the significant economic activities of the village.

Matsuda had a population of 1370 individuals (604 male, 766 female) as of November 30, 1951. There were, at this time, 243 households, an average of 5.6 persons per household. The village is said by local residents and antiquarians to be about 600 years old. If the age is correct, it must be one of the older settlements in northern Okinawa. Before the war, this village was known as Kochiya.

Matsuda also has its lore regarding shipwrecks and foreigners. There are old men who believe Perry's party came to the village and that they left carvings on the top of a picturesque rock in the Burushii district along the coast, a not unbelievable story since the explorers certainly were not far from here.

Near the seashore, but in a very remote area, there is a natural bridge, concealed by large trees. Roots of the banyan grow through the thirty or forty foot drop from the top of the bridge until they find root in the soil below. On a ledge under this bridge, there are two old and open boxes which were used to collect the skulls and bones of unknown persons. Locally it is believed that they are the remains of shipwrecked sailors, possibly Hollanders. There are still 25 or 30 skulls there, and many of the bones are scattered on the ground. The place is seldom visited.

The village rests on low rolling hills. The combination of the hills, the depressions, the caves and the sinks give the topography an uneven almost rugged character. There are few flat places and these are seldom wide. They are the narrow meadows or valleys between the hills. The hilly nature of the surroundings determines to a large extent the manner of cultivation, and historically probably has had much to do with the shapes of the individual parcels themselves. One does not see in this area the plains or small valleys with rice cultivation that is observed in Haneji township near Nago or around the island of Ū in Tamagusuku township, or even in the Hanashiro area of Gushichan township. In these communities, the normal pattern of cultivation is that the rice is on the lowlands, with the slopes and upland areas devoted to sugar cane, the sweet potato, or other crops, or left to native grasses. Here in the hundreds of small hills, all of these may be observed in close proximity, hard work and minute tillage comprising with the topography.

The village is subdivided into several distinct areas: (1) the main part of the village where most of the houses, the village office, the small stores, the rice mill, the sawmill, the power plant, and the barbershop are located, (2) a reclaimed area known locally as the kaikon, newly settled and with a different type of land use due to the poorness of the land and to the fact that it is a deforested area, (3) a district near the sea coast and along the sea with scattered settlements, isolated houses, and some cultivation, and (4) the forest lands, which in the

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In the center of Matsuda. Large trees growing in the settlement. Small garden plots are near the houses and sheds. These houses have thatched roofs except the tile roof in the left center of the picture. A freshly hoed plot is in the foreground.

[p. 56]

traditional attitudes that the north was a culturally rude and physically inhospitable place. The highway which now goes through the center of the main part of the village is a good, hard surfaced, dirt road, widened since the war. A lively traffic of trucks and buses and the three wheeled cycles contrasts with the narrow pre-war roads, traces and abandoned sections of which can still be seen. The frequent buses supply transportation to the larger cities and towns of the island: to Nago across the island and slightly to the north, to Ishikawa on the south, and to distant Naha, about 31 miles away.

Matsuda, unlike the southern villages, was not destroyed by the war. There were some air raids, some bombing out of the houses, but nothing like the destruction in the main areas of conflict. Early in the Okinawa campaign, the north was cut off and isolated and the struggle for the island took place in central and southern Okinawa. As a consequence, many of the old houses, sturdily built with tile roofs, have been preserved. Numerous refugees from the south gathered in this area during and after the campaign. In nearby Ginoza (Jinuza) village, slightly over a mile to the southwest, also on Highway 13, the Americans operated a hospital for Okinawan refugees. It is still in use. This relative lack of war destruction in the northern villages has, to a degree, reversed the roles of the north and the south. The opening up of the north, its prosperity, the survival of many of its old homes, give the impression of comfort and well being conspicuously lacking in most of the makeshift villages of the south.

The descriptions of these three villages perhaps make clear the diversity that can be expected among Okinawan settlements. Hanashiro, the small village cluster, with adjoining rice fields on the valley floor, its other crops on the terraced slopes, is the most typical. Minatogawa, the fishing village in an impoverished countryside of stony or shallow soil, is dependent on the seas and its catch for its livelihood and the wherewithal to buy the foods which cannot be grown in sufficient abundance. Matsuda, a collection of small settlements, scattered here and there from the coast inland, with its large preserve of community forest, is an example of agriculture in a forest setting, and of the use of the forest in daily living. This by no means exhausts the diversity. The village of Oku to the north, with its tea, its rice, its fences for wild boar protection, its cycads planted on the hillsides to prevent erosion, is still another example. But our task here is not to catalogue all diversity, but to indicate that it exists and to a much greater degree than would appear to superficial observation.

593 in a military installation which keeps them away from their homes, they remain there, helping in the fields, or go out on the fishing boats, as
[582] the case may be. If a son other than the first remains in the family after the age of marriage, it is generally for some physical or mental disability. Under the normal operation of the family system, there is
591 no time in a person's life in which he is not part of some family unit and living in the same house with his parents, an elder brother, or with a wife and his children, or with his grandchildren.

729 The war enforced many exceptions to this normal life cycle, as the
593 discussion of the previous table brought out: conscription and military service, deaths in battle or as a consequence of the campaign, widowhood and the orphaning of children. In the villages studied, the post-war situation was not disrupting family life further by the movement of younger unattached men to Naha or the larger towns, or by their separation from daily life while doing work for military camps. At least it was not sufficiently frequent to result in a deterioration of normal family life.
591 In these villages branch families were established for the most part in the village of the parent family. There are two reasons for this: first, the desire to remain near the parents and siblings, and second,
[423] that the property which the father, or elder brother, has at his disposal is normally real property and land holdings in the village. Cash, which a
[435] agricultural or fishing family might have at its disposal, would usually be insufficient at present prices for a second or succeeding son to be given money to purchase land and a house site elsewhere. Occasionally a
[425] father sells land in the village to provide his son with money to purchase a house site and fields elsewhere, but this is not usual.

The mechanics of establishing a branch household may be illustrated from practices observed in each of the villages, though the procedure is essentially the same.

[361] Hanashiro is a settlement in the center of a cultivated area of dry field farming and rice paddies. The cultivated area begins on the outer rim of the village. The father, or the elder brother, gives a field (hatake in Japanese) to the son, or younger brother, if it is suitable for a house site. If the land owned is too far away--there are no
[425] isolated homesteads--an effort is made to exchange with a neighbor, friend or relative, the far off property for a parcel closer in. If this is not possible, the remote piece is sold and the proceeds used to purchase a suitable plot in the residential area. If the family is too poor to
[426] give money or land, an attempt may be made to borrow the money for purchase. If none of these arrangements is possible, the son may simply start out on his own, or less commonly, may live with his wife in the home of his parents, or delay his marriage. But it is uncommon for a second or succeeding son and his wife and children to live in the house of the parents or of the elder brother.

311 In this way, the residential area gradually replaces the cultivated
591 areas which surround it. One consequence of the establishment of branch families in agricultural villages is that it gradually decreases the

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

arable land available for cultivation. House sites cannot be set up on rocky or mountain land away from the village. Whether on the island as a whole the increase in population, the repatriation and the stoppage of large scale emigration will in the future seriously diminish the amount of land available for agricultural uses is an interesting question, but there certainly is a direct relationship between population growth and land taken up with house sites.[5] Not only will a growing population enforce greater demands on the land, but it will inevitably cut down on the amount.

Among the fishermen of Hinatogawa, there is a little more fluidity in the establishment of branch families. There are seldom enough lands to subdivide, and only about 50% of the fishermen own land in addition to their house site. The branch household is established according to the son's taste, and the father may give money if he can afford it so the son can set himself up in Itoman, Naha, or elsewhere. The usual procedure here is to give land in a former agricultural area of the village, land which was developed in the southern part of the village as a result of the destruction of the war in other parts. Here formerly arable land was taken over directly for residential use.

In Matsuda, it is possible to use newly developed areas. This community, unlike the other two, is a series of sub-settlements. In two of these, branch families have settled, one near the seashore, and the other on reclaimed forest land. In both of these areas, the pattern of settlement is different; the clusters of houses give way to the scattered houses, some standing out alone on the top of a knoll or hill, some near the forested slopes of the hillside. In these areas, there is an atmosphere of pioneer settlement. As in Hanashiro, the buying of near land and the selling of far off land and exchange of land are practiced. Since the reclaimed area is considered to be less productive and less desirable, the poorer families are able to purchase land here for their second sons.

5

The Pivotal Importance of the First Son

The key person in the family system is the first son. He normally succeeds to the house at the death or retirement of his father. The father may not legally retire before 60. In rare cases--none were encoun-

5 In general, house and village sites are on arable land, but the quality of this land naturally varies from place to place. See any of the 11 sheets of the Okinawan Soils Map and the discussion in the Remarks column of the legend with reference to the types of soils on which village sites are found.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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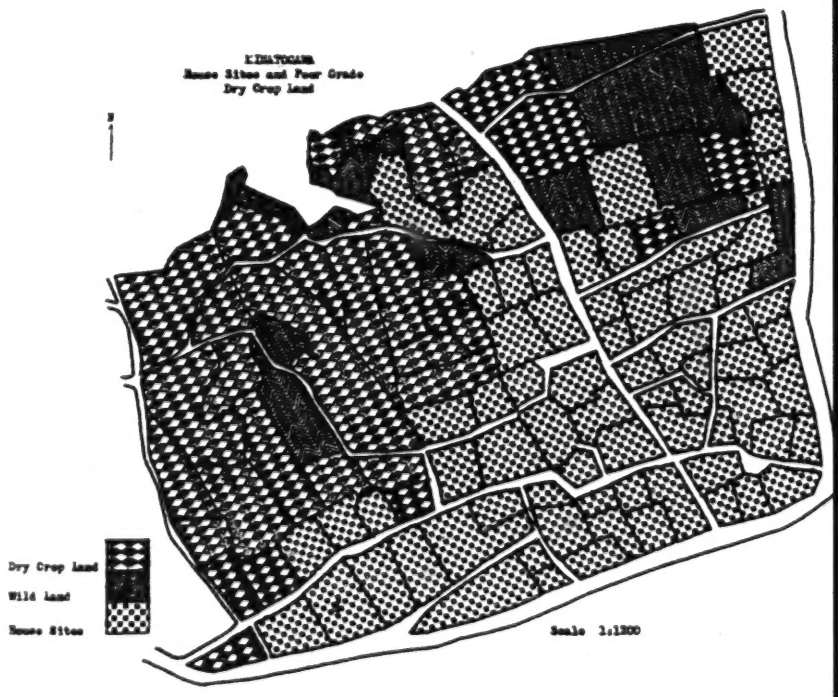


1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

3

Care and Conservation of Land

One of the significant tasks of our time is the study of the relation between population growth and density and the exploitation of renewable and non-renewable resources: the effects of a culture on the land, the forests, the soils and the vegetation must be considered in ethnographic and geographic work. If this is not done the culture is studied as if it rested, like a plate on a table, on a geographic base, without bothering to discover the nature of the environment or what the culture is doing to it.

Nineteenth century studies of primitive and advanced societies emphasized the influence of the physical environment in molding a culture. This crude fallacy, often known as geographic determinism or environmentalism, was exploded by studies made of cultures in all parts of the world in which it became clear that the physical environment is not the cause of cultural differences.

But the reverse of this approach, the examination of what a culture is doing to its physical environment, its soils, its vegetation, and its forests has not been carried on with the vigor with which other aspects of culture have been studied. This point of view has practical significance in day to day administration. Economic matters such as foreign trade or the labor force requirement should not be a separate and independent segment for study. Changes in inheritance should not be viewed solely with reference to the family system. Forest conservation should not be regarded only as a technique and a necessary department in the government.

The effects of the devastating typhoons, for example, need no elaboration: the destruction of life, crops, houses, of boats, and breakwaters. But their effects are also influenced by other factors. The two southern villages were in the midst of some of the violent fighting of the Okinawan campaign. Large numbers of houses in both communities were destroyed by the war. The new buildings to replace them are so frail that in typhoon times they are often destroyed. This rebuilding requires more wood and more grass. Thus, such factors as the war, the inability to reconstruct permanent housing, typhoons, and the natural growing of miscanthus grass are joined together in a close relationship.

In the south the relationship of typhoon destruction to deforestation is striking. There is need for tidebreak groves and shelter belts along the coast to protect crops from wind and salt-water spray, a need which fortunately the Ryukyuan Forest Agency is attempting to meet. Deforestation in the south seems inescapably tied up with long occupance. The center of population has always been in the southern part of the island. Not only should there be trees, but they should be planted in the right places. The deforestation of

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Every three years, the villagers thin out the dwarf bamboo and other grasses in the pine stands along the coast. Late in December or in early January, there is a community planting of pine seeds.

The tools used in forest work are: the hand sickle (kama), a bill or hook knife, the tool so familiar in agriculture; an ordinary long knife resembling a butcher knife or a machete (here called a yamakatana, or "mountain knife"), and a hooked knife on the end of a long handle (sōringama).

Forest care goes well back into Okinawan history and antedates more recent Japanese methods. This care probably was an obligation in the old system of land tenure under which villagers had access to forest lands with the corresponding obligation to replant.

4

An Example of Reclamation

There are cut-over tracts in Matsuda village. The Japanese government, according to local residents, tried to convert these cleared areas into agricultural land. This land reclamation (kaitaku) began about 1935. The land was cleared of its remaining trees and shrubs mainly by firing. (Fire has been used in Okinawa, possibly from early times, in the clearing of land. In 1947 the use of fire in clearing and the hazards in creating forest fires were pointed out by observers who blamed carelessness in firing as the cause of the forest fires in the dry season).[10] Firing was easier and some nutrients from the ash were available to the poor soils.

In Matsuda, the cleared land was hoed and the rocks were removed. It had to be hoed deeply to make cultivation possible. The land was enriched with composts containing horse, pig, and goat manures. The original plan was to promote a more extensive type of agriculture on the reclaimed land because it was poorly adapted to the cultivating methods on the better and more accessible soils. A here-and-there (yadori type) settlement was planned. The houses were to be scattered on hillsides, or in the valleys, to provide sufficient land, admittedly poor, for the settlers to cultivate. The size of the contemplated holdings precluded hand labor of the intensity characteristic of the usual agriculture. The use of draft animals, plows, and harrows was part of the plan.

The war and the disappearance of so many of the draft animals prevented its realisation. Before the war, it was intended that each family should have a 3000 tsubo tract (2.45 acres). Today the residents on these lands cultivate only about 1000 tsubo, about the limit of manual cultivation considering the soils and the stone that remains. As a consequence, parts of the area are returning to weeds, grasses, and shrubs.

10 Okinawa forests, as cited, 7.

361 [167] After the war, this cleared land was further settled, with American encouragement, by families returning from abroad. This subdivision of Matsuda, a here-and-there settlement, is called "the clearing" (kaikon). Its houses are few and far apart, and with its isolated farmsteads is in contrast with the thickly settled cluster of a typical agricultural village.

5

Conservation

313 [647] In Matsuda, the preservation of the forest is constantly encouraged. This awareness, inspired by officials of the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency and its American advisors, reaches down to the school children. Before any burning is done, a permit must be secured. Fire lanes (bōkasen) are cut to prevent the spread of fire. These lanes are circular, and an area on the lee side is burned to prevent spread of the fire in the direction of the wind.

Fire Lane (Bōkasen)

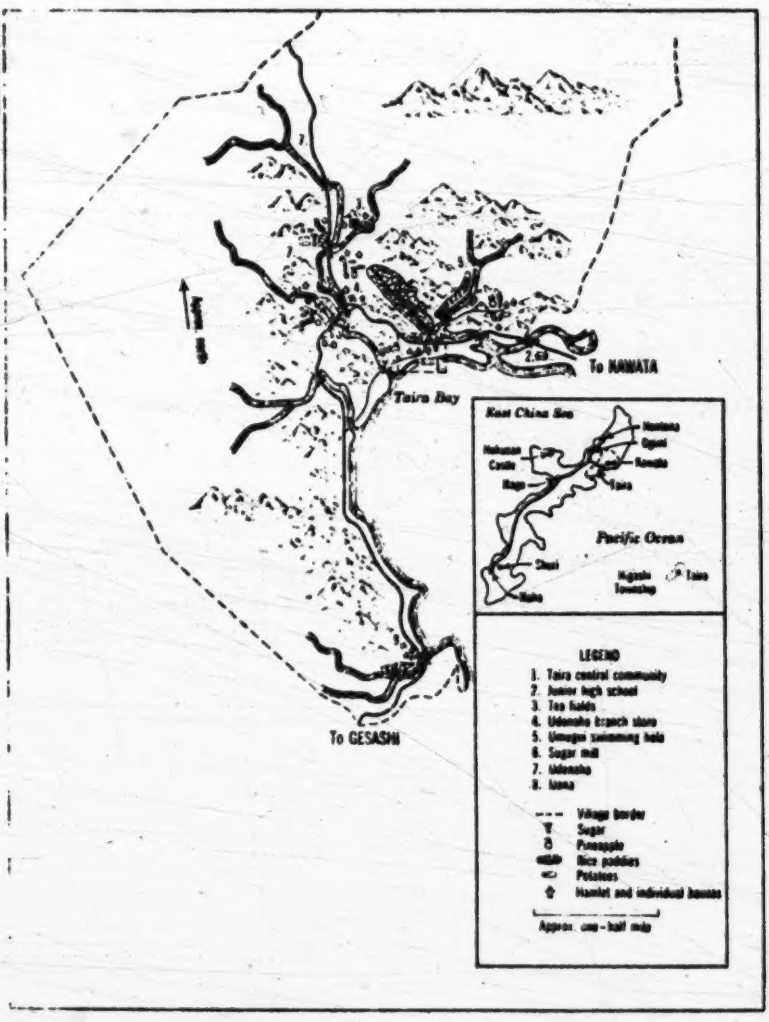
In addition to the fire protection, officials of the Ryukyu Forestry Agency and specialists in the American Civil Administration are trying to discourage overcutting (kanbatsu) which in this area has affected the most numerous species, the pine, the shii, and the Japanese redwood. Since clearcutting (kaibatsu) so easily leads to overcutting, the former practice is also being discouraged. The newer emphasis is on selective cutting (takubatsu).

[813] [647] [208] School children participate in forest conservation. The children attending high school at nearby Ginoza village take part in forest improvement. An active campaign for conservation and forest fire prevention could not begin immediately after the war. In the post-war confusion, it was not until about 1950, with the establishment of the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency, that active supervision on a central government level could be seriously instituted. On an island wide basis, posters and literature pointing to the dangers of forest fires have tried to bring this message to the Okinawans as well as to the Americans. The name of Saion has been used to tie the preservation of the Okinawan forests in with the history and traditions of the people. The famous "Smoky" appears on posters as well.

[125] In the Matsuda area, the recent periods of relaxation or loss of control, according to local residents, were (1) about 1940 when

the two main "houses," or family lines in Taira, and for several centuries Taira must have been a small, closely knit community of interrelated people.

Between 1875 and 1895, when the court life at the old capitol of



Map 1. Taira village (Higashi Township).

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

the community is dispersed. In the outlying parts, as far as 2 miles from the center (see map 1), the houses are scattered between the paddies or farm lands in sections which form subvillages or wards. As mentioned above, settlers from the south took up residence in these areas. Recently families from the main village have also moved to the more remote parts of the community, such as Udenaha, because they can reach their fields more conveniently. Although the name Taira refers to the political unit of main village and outlying parts, including Udenaha and Izena, most references in this study pertain only to the central community. Its 60 households, with about 330 individuals, form the primary social unit from which the sample of 24 children was chosen.

Central Taira nestles along the inner shore of Taira Bay, which opens into the Pacific Ocean. At this point the median range mountains recede from the coastline. Behind the village, rice paddies spread in a crazed pattern at the bottom and on the terraced sides of several valleys which are separated from each other by sparsely wooded hills. Here and there the red earth of an eroded section shows like a scab through the green slopes.

In traveling by road from the south, most people choose the highway along the East China Sea coast, which is connected with the road which crosses the island. Higashi township is entered through a low saddle in the mountains which separate the two coastlines. To the right and left begins Taira's forest. Central Taira is reached through a winding lane bordered by pine trees. To the left the view opens into one of the neatly cultivated rice fields, backed by the hills on whose flat tops and terraced sides village people cultivate their farm lands.

The central village itself lies on a sand bluff, separating the valley from the ocean, so that there is a slight drop toward both sides (see map 2). The main road runs the length of the village. Except for the thoroughfare, which is dirt and gravel, the side roads are not surfaced, and after heavy rains puddles form and remain for more than a day, to the delight of children who play in them.

When Taira was destroyed during World War II, along with its houses went much of the foliage which once served as a windbreak. A few fukugi trees * line the main street, and hibiscus hedges here and there hide some of the houses from a first inspection. There are bushes around the edges of the village.

The war-time destruction is hardly apparent on a first walk through the village. Along the main street, lined by houses, one finds the rice mill, a substantial new building of concrete and wood, the police sta-

* A small- to medium-sized evergreen tree with a narrow, upright, very dark green crown of leaves.

[Text continues on p. 377]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

tion, a frame wood building, and the main store. On the eastern end of the village the road opens into a little square in front of the simple, open prayer house with a small concrete shrine in back, housing three sacred stones. Beyond these is the township office crowned by a mighty pine tree of tremendous and symmetric proportions, acclaimed by Taira people to be the oldest existing pine in Okinawa. Across from the office are the post office and the dispensary.

Closer inspection of the village shows former house sites which were not rebuilt. Some still have empty concrete shells or single concrete walls and abandoned pigsties or storage sheds. Some of the vacant lots are used as potato fields, others as play areas, the favorite being a large house lot surrounded by a concrete wall, near the main store.

Houses are set back a short distance from the roads and paths, and most face south. In spite of the hedges and trees, the house is easily accessible from the street—its orientation is therefore toward the community as a whole and, as will be seen later, open to visitors who can enter freely without going through winding garden paths and knocking on doors or entering through long corridors and passages. Each house lot is small, ranging from 1300 to 6050 square feet. Houses are set so close to each other that neighborly conversations from one to the other can be conducted without leaving one's premises. Although some privacy is attained by the hibiscus hedges and fences, few secrets can be kept from neighbors.

There are several focal areas where people frequently meet and interact. The main store is a geographical center. Its two bulletin boards make it a natural congregating point. The banyan tree, overshadowing the village office and the lower water tank, is another such place, and on any day of the year scores of children can be found on or under it. In prewar times it was flanked by important structures, but now the empty lots, which are adjacent, form a green which is used on good days for village meetings.

South of this green, and close to the water, stands the old warehouse, a concrete structure with tile roof which once served as a storage center for agricultural products shipped south by boat; now it serves as a village meeting playground, especially on rainy days. The open space around it, bordering on the sea wall, is also used as a play area and as a gathering place for young adults. Here people prepare firewood for sale and stack it to be picked up by the village truck. Houses once stood near the 10-foot sea wall but were not rebuilt after the war.

To the north of the store lies the upper water tank. Until several standing faucets were installed in 1955, this used to be another place where people met frequently. Water is diverted from a stream a mile

312 Water is diverted from a stream a mile
365 above the village and piped into the upper and lower tanks where
[482] people fill their buckets which they carry home on a shoulder yoke.
[859] Both tanks always attract children. Before faucets were installed, the two spigots on each tank were closed with a wooden stopper which the children often pulled to get a drink or water to play in. An open lot surrounding the upper water tank is another popular play area.

361 On the eastern side of the village below the main road lies a flat sandy plain, separating the actual beach from the houses above. Children are frequently found playing there or walking along the beach
[764] to the mouth of the Noro Mata and Fukuji rivers, which reach the sea
[211] about 400 yards away. To the west of the central village lie the tombs and the monument for the war dead of the village.

487 Many hills around the village drop off vertically toward the south;
[133] these drops are partly effects of the geological conditions, such as karst depressions, partly caused by erosion of drainage during the heavy rains. Narrow paths, leading up the steep claylike hillsides, are slippery
[491] and very treacherous during rains. On the way to school in Kawata, the neighboring village, children have to pass a section of the road where river and rains have washed away the bank so badly that a misstep on the edge of the road could lead to a fall of more than 50 feet.

312 The little river which runs through parts of the valley behind Taira
[857] is another gathering place of children. A path alongside it leads into
[487] the hills and mountain forest lands. Seven minutes walking along this path takes one to Umugui, a natural swimming hole which also serves as one of the favorite laundry places. During the summer the river offers several other popular swimming spots downstream from Umugui.
[296] There is also a little concrete bridge in the rice fields beyond the houses, where adults and children go to wash laundry and sometimes pots and pans. Yamagawa well is a water hole, lined with concrete, near the northwestern part of Taira. Before water faucets were installed, girls frequently went there to wash their hair and do laundry.

857 Children go to the fields to look for flowers and berries or, in the
[484] case of older boys, to cut grass for animals. Distances covered by any child depend, of course, on the age. Younger siblings under 5 accompany the older ones to places beyond the area, but no expeditions extend to areas that are not also regularly traversed by adults in the course of their daily duties. Perhaps because of the multiple rivers and water sources, the beach offers less enticement than one might expect. On some days a group may decide to play on the beach, but since sand is also available throughout the village, everybody will soon shift back to some other area inland.

137 Tropical plants, bushes, and trees grow at sea level. At higher ele-

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

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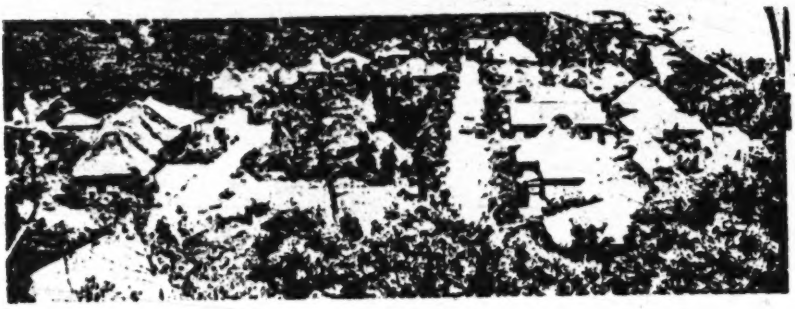

View of central village, Taira.

351
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House and yard.

Preparing rice paddy.

Cultivating rice.

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Amami Oshima, Okinawa, Miyako, and Yaeyama.[1] Although they appear to differ widely, mutual intelligibility prevails, and informants from other islands assured me that they had managed to understand Okinawan in a short time though most preferred to use Japanese rather than attempt the new dialect. 197

Okinawan Dialects The Okinawan dialect area, Okinawa and its offshore islands, contains many sub-dialects or local speech groups, all of which are easily mutually intelligible. It would be an exaggeration to state that there is a distinctive dialect for each community; yet the variety and diversity of local speech forms constantly impresses one. Nakasone has distinguished five dialects in the Kunigami area alone, and this does not include nearly a dozen and a half distinctive speech islands within the same area.[2] These local speech peculiarities are often pointed out with considerable pride and seem much prized as symbolic of a community's identity. [621]

The dialects of Naha, Shuri, and certain of the larger towns such as Itoman and Yonabaru, are quite distinctive and easily recognized by the Okinawans. Naha dialect is most widely spoken and easily understood throughout the island, and because of its association with the capital carries the greatest prestige among Okinawan speakers. Old residents of Naha complain that their dialect has deteriorated and become coarsened since the war due to the heavy influx from other areas of people who speak the dialect imperfectly. By this they refer to the loss of certain polite forms and the inundations of Japanese. Some Shuri people will contend that the "best" Okinawan is spoken in their city. In the past this was undoubtedly a widely accepted point of view, but with the advent of Japanese administration---exile of the king, removal of the capital to Naha, abolition of the upper classes---Shuri's prestige as a cultural center rapidly declined. A number of informants, rural and urban, felt that the "purest" Okinawan was heard in the Naha theaters, particularly at the Naha Gekijō, where daily performances of modern and historical dramas are presented. Itoman dialect is considered to be very coarse and rough by the people of other communities, and hence is accorded a low prestige. This is in part due to certain prosodic features of the dialect which render it unlike other Okinawan dialects, but more likely it is due to the fact that this town largely derives its livelihood from fishing, an occupation regarded with opprobrium by farmers and urbanites alike. The neighboring farm village of Kanegusuku, though less than a quarter of a mile away and long associated with Itoman, preserves a dialect distinct from it. [554] [177] [648] [177] [345] [554] [226]

This dialectic diversity on Okinawa reflects to a certain extent the physical isolation of the typical village, a tightly-nucleated cluster of dwellings surrounded by fields. It is also a product of the social structure in the Okinawan kingdom. Prior to annexation by Japan (1879), farmers were little more than serfs bound to the soil and forbidden to leave their native village, while the gentry and nobility were for the most part concentrated in the urban Naha-Shuri district. Rural villages tended to be isolated, self-sustaining units; most were composed of a dominant kin group (munchu) and several smaller and possibly remotely related kin groups, or of several unrelated kin groups more nearly equal in size. A munchu was made up of a number [361] 197 105 [566] [565] [621]

[1] Miyanaga /Miyara/, 1950, p. 39.

[2] Nakasone, 1937, pp. 242-258.

CHAPTER V: FAMILY LIFE

W. P. Suttles

1. Kinship Organization

342 [183] **The Household and the Family** Okinawan homes, both in the country and in the towns, show a surprising uniformity in structure, in floor plan, and even in orientation. This uniformity reflects the stability of society and at the same time reenforces it. The home of the [361] Okinawan farmer usually faces south; indeed the older villages as a whole were established on southward-facing slopes.

The house consists of two main rooms separated by sliding doors, a long and narrow back room behind the two front rooms, and a kitchen to one side, usually the west. The measurements are usually in multiples of three feet (the Japanese foot being almost identical with the English foot); the two main rooms are usually the same size, 9 by 9 or 12 by 12 feet, and the others are somewhat smaller. The roofs of most houses are thatched with "kaya", but people who can afford it have wholly or partly tiled roofs. The roof of the kitchen may have a separate peak and ridgepole from that of the main part of the house. Usually the roof of the main part of the house extends beyond the front rooms so that there is a narrow veranda across the front and halfway around the side opposite the kitchen. The house usually has no windows. The kitchen has an outside door and the front rooms have sliding doors all the way around under the veranda; these are usually open except at night or during bad weather.

The main part of the house has a floor of boards but the kitchen often has only an earth floor or else consists of two sections, one floored and one not. The kitchen is thus usually lower than the main part of the house and is referred to as "below" while the main part is "above", but this also implies a difference in status. The room farthest from the kitchen is called the "first room" and the middle room is the "second room". The back room may be a single long room or may be divided into two. 353 At the back of the kitchen is [354] the oven, usually made of earth or bricks with two or three holes for pots and pans to fit into. At the back of the second room, if the house is a "main house"---that of an eldest son, is the tootoomee (J. 'butsudan'), a cabinet for the ancestral tablets. At the back of the first room there is often an alcove containing a scroll and perhaps a family treasure; this is the utuku (J. 'tokonoma').

In the homes of more prosperous families the floors of the front rooms are permanently covered with "tatami", the thick mats used by the Japanese, but in most homes the only mats are the thinner mushiru, which are spread out 352 only when needed. Furniture is simple; the mushiru are the equivalent of chairs [354] and beds; a low table may be brought out to put food upon at meal-time and a pot of burning charcoal may be brought out in cold weather for a little heat. Usually one sees only a basket of teacups and a tobacco-box. On formal occa- 592 sions the men sit in the first room and the women in the second, but usually 562 the partition is removed and the family simply lives in the whole space.

CHAPTER VIII LAND TENURE

W. P. Lebra

423 178 During the lifetime of the oldest living generation of Okinawans there have been operative two radically differing systems of land tenure---at first a system of communal land ownership and later a system of private ownership of land by families. At the present time a third system may be said to be emerging---private ownership by individuals. Changes in the systems of land tenure have been accompanied by significant changes in the family, economy, and community. During the wartime and post-war periods extensive land losses to military installations have severely disrupted the livelihood of a number of communities, thus furthering the process of change.

175 ## 1. The Okinawan Kingdom and the Land Allotment System ('jiwari seido')

[642] Prior to 1879 when Japan formally annexed the Ryukyus, Okinawa was a small semi-independent kingdom (it was a tribute-paying dependency of the daimiate of Satsuma in Japan) controlling the southern Ryukyus. The 175 565 urban Naha-Shuri area served as the administrative and commercial center for the kingdom, and nearly all of the upper classes, gentry and nobility, were concentrated there. They formed a ruling class similar to that of [423] China, functioning as a literati and administrative bureaucracy. Feudalism had been abolished in the fifteenth century, and aside from a small percentage of the nobility who were allowed to retain their hereditary fiefs, the bulk of the upper classes subsisted on pensions granted by the ruler. This group was very large and constituted approximately one-third of the total population.

175 [566] [361] The farming population lived in a state of serfdom, being forbidden even to move from their native village or to change their hereditary occupation. Farm villages were self-sustaining and physically isolated entities consisting of tightly-nucleated clusters of dwellings surrounded by fields. [621] [613] [614] Each village was segmented into several lineages whose houses were generally clustered together; these kin groups were related through the male line and shared a common ancestor, ritual observances, and often a local tomb for temporary burial. Each lineage was usually related to certain lineages of other villages, thus forming a larger relationship or patri-sib which shared a remote common ancestor, ritual observances, and a common tomb for permanent burial. Usually the membership of this larger kinship group was con- [582] centrated in the villages of a given district or area. Village endogamy was an obligatory marriage practice, and kin group endogamy was a preferred though not an obligatory practice.

178 423 175 423 [632] Private ownership of land on Okinawa is a recent phenomenon, as recent, in fact, as the beginning of the twentieth century. Under the old kingdom communal ownership of the land obtained for all except a small segment of the upper classes. In theory all land was the property of the ruler, but in practice the district, or majiri (political unit roughly equivalent

4. A Comparison of Land Tenure in Two Rural Villages: Kanegusuku and Kitazato

621 Kanegusuku The village of Kanegusuku is located in the southwestern corner of Kanegusuku-son approximately three miles due south of
[34] Naha on the west coast, and it is immediately north of the town of Itoman. As is typical of the old Okinawan villages it is situated on high ground with all of its houses facing in a southerly direction. Aside from a detached cluster of eleven houses, the village houses are close together in
[12] a contiguous settlement. The village was selected for study because of its infrequent contact with Americans, relative lack of war damage, and a reputed antiquity and conservatism. As of December, 1953, the population was 507 persons forming 108 families occupying 103 houses. The present population is said to be about the same as before the war despite a 20% loss of life during the battle; this loss has been made up by repatriates from overseas and immigrants from other areas of Okinawa. The repatriates and some of the immigrants either had formerly resided in the village or regarded it as their ancestral home. There are nine families who were native to some other part of Okinawa before the war and have no previous connections with the village. The majority of the families have been in this village for
[592] many generations. There are approximately five persons in each household, which usually consists of a nuclear family, husband and wife and their children; but the composition of a number of households has been changed due to wartime losses.

Socially the village is segmented into eight lineages which con-
[613] stitute 92% of the total population; the remaining 8% is made up of unrelated families new to the village since the end of the war. One lineage includes nearly 61% of the village in its membership. Each of these lineages is related to lineages in other villages. Approximately 66% of the village
[582] marriages have been within the village, and nearly 50% of the marriages have been between persons of the same kin group. Thus, the composition of the village is fairly homogeneous, and both the community and the kin groups are strong cohesive units.

621 Occupation 98 of the 103 houses are engaged full time in farming;
463 the household heads of the five remaining houses are employed outside the
241 village in non-agricultural pursuits although all participate in some part-time farming. In addition to these five there were approximately fifteen young men, not household heads, who also worked outside. Most of these commuted daily to the greater Naha area where they were engaged in military employment or construction work. For the majority of villagers farming was the sole occupation.

621 Arable Land Over 66% of the total area of this village is under
311 cultivation, and about 38% of the cultivated land is in irrigated fields.
[434] The chief sources of income derive from rice and mats made from a sedge which is grown in an irrigated field. In terms of the average amount of
[136] arable land per household Kanegusuku is somewhat better off than the average for Okinawa: 1514.2 'tsubo' for Kanegusuku as compared with 1037.6 'tsubo' for Okinawa.

[Kitazato]

175 621 727 It is said that the division of the village cut across family lines and that the motivating factor in a household's choice of one site over another was the location of their remaining landholdings on the periphery of the village. Another factor was the presence of relatives in neighboring villages from whom they might secure land for rental. Thus, Kijikina is largely made up of households which have their lands on that side of the field or have relatives in neighboring Furushima; the Hama people mostly own the land at the north side of the field.

175 621 The Pre-war Village Prior to the war the village was, according to 'son' officials, a very prosperous community and a great economic asset to the 'son'. It possessed nearly 173 acres in arable land, most of which [249] [334] [233] [439] was flat or gently rolling. The soil was well suited to sugar cane which was the chief source of income for the village; cattle-raising for export to Japan provided an additional source of income.

Unlike Kanegusuku the lineages were said to be rather weak in Kitazato; there were a number of different kin groups, and no one of these was [360] dominant. The houses of the village were not tightly nucleated like those of the typical Okinawan village but were scattered about in a loose grouping in the midst of the best agricultural land.

621 311 727 Land Loss At the present time (May, 1954) approximately 39% of the total land area of this village is in airfield, and an additional 34% of the total area has been ruined by activities related to its construction (sand dumped onto fields, top soil removed, erosion, etc.). There remains but 27% of the total land area for the use of the villagers, and of this only a small percentage is in arable land, since most of the good, flat farmland was lost to the airfield. The total amount of arable land remaining is [134] 11,895 'tsubo' (less than ten acres), and this averages out to about 148 'tsubo' or 0.12 acres per household, with approximately five persons in each house. The average amounts of arable land per household in Kanegusuku, Okinawa, and Kitazato compare as follows:

Kanegusuku	---	1514.2 'tsubo'
Okinawa	---	1037.2 'tsubo' (per farm household)
Kitazato	---	148.7 'tsubo'

Land loss to the airfield affected every family in the village; some families lost all of their lands, a very few managed to retain most, but the majority of villagers (70%) lost nearly all of their holdings. For example, the mayor of the village held 2470 'tsubo' before the war and now has 570 'tsubo' left; yet, he is considered one of the more fortunate. To compensate for their losses they now farm some land which was previously left idle: "We would not have farmed such land before the war as we are farming today." Some have rented lands from neighboring villages, and a few have been given land by relatives in these villages.

621 829 727 Land Payment The people of Kitazato strongly feel that they are not being paid adequate remuneration in terms of current rental values for their land. They are well aware of the fact that the same U. S. military

241 433 average, since the range is narrow) of approximately one acre.[1] Even by the most skillful and intensive gardening methods there are limits to what can be extracted from the best of soils. One might say that the average Okinawan farmer is engaged in sub-subsistence farming. With the traditionally low 241 554 status accorded a farmer and the minute size of his holdings it is hardly any wonder that the Okinawan does not like farming and is eager to accept whatever is available elsewhere.

198 241 311 727 Land loss to military installations has accelerated a process which has been operative for fifty years. In this case, however, the effect has been concentrated in certain areas and not distributed over the island at large; consequently, there has been considerable hardship in these localities. But the main point of bitterness where it has been so engendered is over the loss of livelihood rather than over the loss of the land per se. The point, they feel, is that not only have they lost their lands but that they also are not receiving adequate compensation for this loss. It would not be an exaggeration to state that most perhaps would prefer to be landlords, under reasonable terms, to the military than farm the land if it were available again.

198 433 Okinawan food production has passed through three phases in the last fifty to sixty years. During the first phase prior to the land reform of 1899-1903 there was a self-sufficiency of food in the rural areas. After the reform, the Japanese subsidized sugar and did much to encourage its production, which rose to a point 900% above local consumption. This led to a sharp decline in acreage planted in other foods, particularly grains---rice, wheat, millet. Since 1943 there has been a shift toward increasing food production[2], and sugar has dropped to about one-tenth its prewar level. In some villages such as Kanegusuku where mat weaving was formerly of considerable importance the irrigated fields formerly planted in sedge have been replanted with rice. Despite the increasing emphasis on food production it is unlikely that the village will ever return to self-sufficiency, for in recent years new tastes have altered the diet and created a dependence on foods not produced within the village.

198 361 Settlement Patterns The reconstruction of villages after the war often did not follow the prewar pattern. Suttles states that prewar Yamada was a scattered settlement made up of several small hamlets, whereas the new postwar settlement is a nucleated one. The new site is at an important crossroads, while the heart of the old village is virtually empty. North of Yamada on the highway to Nago one can see where the new road has departed from the old one; in several cases the villagers have moved closer to the new road despite the fact that it was much dustier there.

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1 Cressey, George B., Asia's Lands and Peoples, New York, 1944, p. 84, p. 191.

2 Several informants stated that the word went out to the farmers in that year to concentrate all efforts on food production. Undoubtedly this was linked to the turn of events in the war for the Japanese.

Elongated roadside settlements seem to be an increasing phenomena of post-war Okinawa. In central Okinawa (Nakagami) this is particularly apparent in the areas of military camps, where the commercial value of being on the road is fully exploited. Numerous car-washing establishments, repair shops, laundries, souvenir shops, etc., line the roadsides in these settlements. With current expansion and improvement of the highway system there seems increasing likelihood that more settlements of this type will develop. 178 361 [443]

Houses and Buildings Architectural styles and the materials of construction appear to have changed but slightly as a result of the war. There are now thousands of small temporary huts made of scrap materials which will suffice until the individual family can afford a more permanent structure. When new houses are built, the styles are closely similar to those of the prewar period. The major change in the style of country houses appears to have occurred during the Japanese period of administration, for early travelers and investigators report that the typical farmer's dwelling consisted of woven bamboo walls, thatch roof, and dirt floor. These are but rarely found today, and where they do occur, there is always a raised floor as in the case of the Japanese home. In certain areas, such as Kitazato for example, there has been a reversion to this house of woven bamboo and thatch due to poverty, a lack of wood, and the readily available bamboo. The prewar house of wooden walls and frame with a tile roof still remains the most common house type and that which is most frequently built. 178 342 [171]

The use of concrete blocks in building is attributed to American influence; however, their usage to date has been limited mostly to non-residential buildings. Roofing of corrugated iron is sometimes used, but it is regarded as a temporary device. [177]

Interiors have changed but little; rooms are usually relatively bare of furnishings. Frequently the walls are covered with pictures taken from Japanese and American magazines. 177 178 353

The enclosed yard surrounding the Okinawan house often contains considerable evidence of the war. Oil drums have been put to use as rain barrels and privies; American helmets are frequently found serving as pails or buckets; old shell cases are used for support and occasionally, if a sufficient number are available, for decorative fencing; sections of portable landing-strips serve as sidewalks; and on one occasion a Japanese machine-gun was observed in use as a clothes pole. 177 351

Crafts There has been a marked decline in Okinawan handicrafts and a greater reliance placed on factory-made products. The manufacture of cloth, baskets, rope, hats, pottery, raincapes, mats, sandals, etc. has dropped markedly in comparison to the prewar era; yet, it is acknowledged that the war only served to accelerate the decline. Several factors are involved in this process. In many cases the Japanese factory products are cheaper and better than the local article. The cultural domination of Japan also created an attitude that things Ryukyuan were inferior to things Japanese; hence, Japanese products and styles assumed an ascendancy over those of Ryukyuan origin. Lastly, the war destroyed many of the places of manufacture and the machinery employed, and replacement has never been made. 177 178 433 28 [329] [727]

CHAPTER XII: OKINAWAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

[Yamada]

[2] In this chapter we shall describe the effects of the occupation and types of relationships that have developed between Americans and Okinawans in a rural setting. We shall discuss the problems of Okinawan military employment. And we shall discuss the nature of Okinawan attitudes toward the United States, toward Japan, and toward themselves as a separate ethnic unit.

1. The Rural Setting: Yamada

W. P. Suttles

[62] Changes in Structure and Orientation [36] [24] The village of Yamada lies in southern Onna-son on the China Sea shore of Okinawa just south of the Ishikawa isthmus. The village is actually composed of several settlements that form a single 'ku' (the administrative unit) in a single 'aza' (the land unit). The topography of the 'aza' is rather uneven. The great majority of the people are farmers. They raise a little tea on one of the higher hills, sweet potatoes and other root crops and a little wheat on their upland fields, and a considerable amount of rice in paddies at the bottoms of their narrow valleys.

Before the war Aza Yamada consisted of seven settlements. Two were the old villages of Yamada and Kuraha. Four were yaarui (J. 'yadori'), smaller, separate settlements established by settlers (chijuunin, J. 'kiryūmin') who had left the urban areas of the south in the latter part of the last century. Of these four, three, the mee ("front") and kushi ("rear") yaarui of Tirabaru and the yaarui of Uema were settled by commoners (hyakusoo, J. 'heimin'); the fourth and most isolated, Tirabaru, was settled by gentry (yukatchu, J. 'shizoku'). The seventh settlement, Ajimaa, was a recent clustering of houses and shops around the crossroads and school.

For purposes of administration the aza was divided into 'han'. Since administration meant mainly the communication of instructions from above, number of houses and distance were probably the principal factors in determining the size of the 'han'. Thus the three larger settlements, Yamada, Kuraha, and Ajimaa, were each a 'han'; two of the yaarui that were close together, the mee and kushi yaarui of Tirabaru, formed a single 'han'; but the remaining two yaarui, Uema and Tarigaa, were separate 'han', probably because they were too far apart for one 'hanchō' to transmit information to both.

But for purposes of cooperation in certain economic and social activities, a unit larger than the single yaarui was evidently needed. This unit was the chinju (J. 'kinjo', meaning "neighborhood"). The three larger settlements were each a chinju, besides being each a 'han'. The two yaarui that formed a single 'han' also formed a single chinju. But the two yaarui that formed separate 'han' also formed a single chinju, their distance apart apparently being of less importance than the need for a larger cooperative unit.

[Yamada]

Thus Aza Yamada consisted of seven settlements grouped into six 'han' and into five chinju. The chinju was probably the older, "natural" unit, while the 'han' was a unit introduced by the Japanese administration. 621 [177]

During the last few months before the battle for Okinawa, the area south of Yamada was used as an ammunition dump by the Japanese navy, one small unit was stationed in Tarigaa, and a number of Okinawan civilians drafted for labor were quartered there with the local people. These outsiders dispersed as the raiding by American planes increased and by the time the landing took place, on 1 April 1945, the people of Yamada had for the most part gone into caves and prepared underground shelters. Two or three days after the landing the 6th MarDiv passed through Yamada, discovering some of the people and sending them behind the lines, but missing many. Some of those taken were almost immediately allowed to return to their homes. Then, after about a week, all were rounded up, taken to the school, and there loaded onto trucks and taken to Ishikawa. During the following weeks all the buildings in Yamada that had survived the softening-up process that preceded the landing were burned "as a sanitary measure" with the excertion of one house and one school building. A part of the Yamada people were moved again to a village north of Kin while the rest stayed in Ishikawa, which was becoming the largest concentration of civilians on the island. Aza Yamada, empty of Okinawans, was occupied by several American units; concrete foundations for quonset huts were laid on the level fields of Tirabaru; the walls and floor of the remaining school building were removed so as to make a garage for a motor pool. 195 621 726 727

The people of Yamada were permitted to move back to their village during the summer of 1946. Some stayed in Ishikawa, however, and some returned to Yamada only to go back to Ishikawa later. (One woman said they were told at the time that if they did not return to Yamada then they could never return later.) The houses at Yamada had to be rebuilt and fields reclaimed; American aid in materials was given but the job was not an easy one. For some of those who had employment with American units or whose families were too broken by the war to provide the basis for a farming household, the new city of Ishikawa, crowded and unsanitary as it was (and still is), was more attractive than the ruins of the country village. But in addition to those from Ishikawa, former Yamada people were being shipped home from Japan, the South Seas, and Manchuria, and although some of these too drifted to the city, the population of Yamada is now somewhat larger than it was before the war. 195 621 727

The postwar village of Yamada looks considerably different from the prewar one. While the old village consisted of several widely separated settlements, the new one is fairly compact. The center is Ajimaa at the old cross-roads below the school. Yamada 'mura-uchi' is empty but for three families. The yaarui of Uema and Tarigaa were never reoccupied and Tirabaru exists only as a sort of pseudopodium of Ajimaa stretching toward but not reaching its former location. The greater part of the 'mura-uchi' and yaarui people are in Ajimaa and the present Tirabaru. Kuraha, formerly down on the beach, has been rebuilt above the water, just below Ajimaa, at a new and potentially more important crossroads. 621 178 [341]

[Yamada]

621 One reason for this greater concentration may have been the greater
• 261 need for cooperation during the period of rebuilding; another may have been
178 the greater dependence since the war on the outside and the resulting greater
177 dependence on the new highways and busses; but a third reason for the present concentration seems to have been a feeling of uneasiness in the presence of American units. There are still units on three sides of Yamada, two in the hills behind and one towards the sea between the settlement and the next village of Maeda. A Tarigaa woman gave the presence of American soldiers in the hills as a definite reason for not returning to her isolated home. A part of the rebuilt Ajimaa extended for a time in the direction of the nearest unit but in the last two or three years these houses have one by one been removed toward the center of the settlement.

621 The present aza is divided into five 'han', which are said also to
178 function as chinju. However, the division seems to have been made along 'koaza' boundaries and this has resulted in a very uneven distribution of households per 'han'. Since the settlement pattern is still changing it seems likely that units of a more equal size will develop.

621 The orientation of Yamada, as well as its settlement pattern, has
178 changed. Before the war contacts were nearly all to the north and south
484 along the west shore of the island; people went south to Kadena on their rare shopping trips. Now, good highways and an excellent bus system not only run north and south but also link the west shore with the east shore via Nakadomari and Ishikawa. Since the war and the internment of many of the Yamada people at Ishikawa, going to town had meant going to Ishikawa, and people who once went twice a year to Kadena may now go to Ishikawa twice a week. People still go south to Kadena, but now more often as employees of the Americans commuting to work.

621 Formal Relations At the time that the Yamada people returned to their
177 village in 1946 they received material aid from the
727 American Military Government, with which to rebuild. For a time after, they
[648] continued to receive a food ration ('haikyū') that was distributed from the 'haikyūjo', which later became the cooperative store. However, for several years now they seem to have had very little direct contact with the Military Government or its successor USCAR. On the other hand they have had considerable contact, both formal and informal, with the 'butai', the "unit", that is stationed just a few hundred yards from the settlement of Kuraha. This relationship was evidently in a process of change while I worked in Yamada early in 1954.

All of the villagers with whom I discussed the matter seemed agreed that for a period in the recent past the relationship had been very good. During the previous year the CO of the unit had held monthly meetings with the 'kuchō' of Yamada and three neighboring villages and with the teachers of the Yamada school, which serves all four villages. The purpose of these meetings was said to be the discussion of mutual problems, and in this they had a fair degree of success. For example the local people asked the unit to decrease the speed of trucks coming through the village, and this was done. The unit in turn asked the villagers to try to stop women from sneaking into